.: Childs M-S (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

four households with six houses. The school village had been laid out in rectangular fashion without any palisade and with eucalyptus trees planted around the sides. The school was at the centre and the elder's house at the upper corner. These two larger buildings and one other were built of adobe, while the rest of the twelve houses were of wattle and daub, identical with those in the other wards except that all were rectangular. There were a few very small gardens watered by an irrigation ditch. The people of this village had river gardens, and their fields were mostly to the south between the village and the highway. Just to the east of the main village and beside one of the water-holes, a Roman Catholic catechist had established himself, but as yet he had neither village nor school.

The Villagers

Turning now to the people living in this village, it was interesting to find that all save the households of two former slaves and the Roman Catholic catechist, were related to each other, either by blood or by marriage. Sekulu Cipange of Ciyanda summed the matter up when he said, 'Likuluta Samikanjo (the Protestant elder) is my younger brother (*manjange*), for in our Umbundu country (we) people do not build together (i.e. in the same village) unless we are blood relatives.' In order to determine the exact relationships and other facts regarding the demography of this village, I took the names of all householders and their wives, and inquired their relationships to the elders of the respective wards. This information was supplied by Njomba, a son of Sekulu Sikilile, and by Sekulu Likuluta Samikanjo. In addition to those of the four elders, there were twenty-four households. The relationship of each of the householders to their respective elders may be summarized as follows:

A. *Paternal relatives*

In Sikilile's village	21	
„ Ciyanda	1	
„ Kanjengo's ward	3	
„ School village	3	
	—	26

B. *Maternal relatives*

In Ciyanda	1	
„ Kanjengo's ward	1	
„ School village	4	

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

167 occupied by Siku of the Ndombe people, which site Katutu soon
173 appropriated. This is the present site[1] of the Ciyaka capital.

[115] While reworking some of the material in this paper I had the good fortune to receive help from a member of the royal family of Ciyaka[2] who has more precise data on the succession of that kingdom than I had supposed it possible now to obtain. He not only completed and corrected my list of the kings of Ciyaka, but he also supplied the actual dates for all of them since 1842.[3] Their number would seem to impute to the Ciyaka kingdom a longer history than I have been able to verify for any of the other Umbundu kingdoms, but the absence of historical data from European sources makes confirmation impossible. It would seem, however, that the beginning of the Ciyaka dynasty must date from not later than the first half of the seventeenth century.

Some of the other Umbundu-speaking groups are of considerable importance and interest, but unfortunately there is neither time nor space to give to their origins attention equal to that given to those treated above. The Sambu kingdom has long specialized in the training of medical practitioners and witch-doctors. The tradition is that it was founded by a woman who seems to have come either from Bailundu or from the stock whence came the Bailundu royal family at an even earlier date. From the family of Wambu-Kalunga, in addition to Ciyaka, came those who set up the kingdoms of Elende, which had a woman ruler early in its history; of Cingolo; of Ekekete; and of Cikuma (also called Citata), in whose lands the fort of Caconda a Nova was built in 1769. It was probably after this that the capital of Citata moved across the Katumbela (*Catombela*) River to its present site. Kakonda, the founder of the kingdom generally known by that name, was of Luanda stock but born in Ngalangi,[4] whence he was sold as a slave to Benguela. He ran away with his wife Cilombo[5] and settled in the region near the (present) site of Caconda (a Nova). Kakonda and Cilombo probably settled there only a very short time before the building of the fort, for most of Kakonda's fifteen successors

[1] Called *Quiara á nova* in the old Portuguese records (see loc. cit.).

[2] Lauriano M. Bahu Ciyaka, a graduate of Currie Institute, teacher of the village of Canja.

[3] *Vide* chronological chart, p. 224 f. *infra*.

[4] It is likely that his ascendants were *pombeiros* (traders) from Luanda and had settled in Ngalangi.

[5] After her, the kingdom was called Cilombo-cedoma (Camp of the Drum).

2: Hambly E-6 (1929-1930) 1934 FF13 Mbundu FF13

PREFACE

As leader of the Frederick H. Rawson-Field Museum Ethnological 122
Expedition to West Africa I undertook research in Angola and Nigeria, from February, 1929, to February, 1930. The present publication is concerned with the ethnology of Angola (Portuguese West Africa), where a study of the Ovimbundu and their culture contacts was made.

At the outset I must express thanks to the Portuguese govern- 000
ment for permission to carry on this investigation. Owing to the courtesy of the American Vice-Consul, Mr. Arthur F. Tower of Loanda, I received from the Governor General of Angola a letter of introduction which was of inestimable service during my journey in the interior.

From Portuguese officials much help was obtained, and sound advice accompanied by practical assistance was always courteously given.

In London I was assisted in the most cordial way by Mr. David Boyle, of the Cunard Steamship Lines, and Colonel B. Follett, D.S.O., of the Tanganyika Concessions Company.

My base camp in Angola was pitched near the Elende Mission 122
Station, where Dr. Merlin W. Ennis kindly provided safe storage for collections and a room for photography. Dr. Ennis was ever ready to discuss and aid my investigation among the Ovimbundu with whom he has spent thirty years. Mrs. Ennis and Miss Rounds aided my studies of handicraft among women. Dr. Hollenbeck gave valuable notes on the ailments of the Ovimbundu; these have been incorporated with my study of medicine-men.

Nganga, my interpreter and chief informant, was secured by 115
Dr. Ennis to assist the investigation, and this he did with the greatest tact and ability. Nganga speaks English, Portuguese, and Umbundu fluently. These accomplishments were so combined with a deep regard for the customs of his own people, the Ovimbundu, that he made an ideal interpreter.

From the base at Elende three journeys were made into the 122
interior. The first of these led to the far south of Angola, among the Vakuanyama; a second journey took me into the Vasele country of northwest Angola; while the third and longest itinerary led as far east as Cangamba, a center of Vachokue culture, thence northward to Saurimo in Lunda.

597 belong to the foster parents. When an adopted girl marries, half the presents from the husband are given to the natural parents, and the other half to the foster parents.

845 In a case of triple birth at Ngalangi two infants died at birth; the other succumbed after three months. In another instance a woman bore three children and in the vernacular of my informant "something which was nothing," but all died. In a third case of triple birth a woman had a boy and two girls. The boy died at the age of fifteen [126] years; the girls grew up and bore children. Albinos do not find it easy to obtain wives. I was told that an albino man at Ngalangi could not find a wife until he married a widow who had several children, because unmarried girls of his own age did not want him. One of the charms collected has to be worn by a woman who has triplets. The object is a rattle (*olusenya*), which the woman shakes when she meets any one. If she gave an ordinary greeting the children would die.

•115 The greater part of this information was obtained at Ngalangi by interrogating women who were questioned in Umbundu by Mrs. McDowell. At Elende I asked my interpreter Ngonga to interrogate 843 his wife. According to Ngonga a woman must visit a female practitioner in the first month of her pregnancy. The face and the body of the pregnant woman are painted with red, black, and white spots. This means that she will have no difficulty in bearing children, neither will she have any sickness during the nine months of gestation. "When her belly hurts" (i.e., the quickening), the woman goes to the same female *ocimbanda*, who paints lines of white, red, and black across her breast.

757 The *ocimbanda* gives the woman a necklace consisting of a strip of leather to which two cowries are attached. Experience proves that such a necklace is difficult to buy. If the woman has a necklace of this kind which was worn by her grandmother, it is a very powerful aid to conception, a relief in painful menstruation, and a means of securing easy delivery and normal gestation. I could not find any trace of an idea relating to the entry of a soul, ancestral or otherwise, into the foetus.

841 *Ongunda* is the name for a disease of the genitalia; but Ngonga used the word to describe abdominal pain suffered by a woman who has had no children. By this I suppose he means painful menstruation. The curative root which is given is called *kapumbua*.

847 Abortion is never secured by mechanical means. The medicine (*ikenda*) is made from the root of a plant that is boiled in water and

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

601 *Sekulu* includes the father's father, the mother's mother's brother, and the mother's mother's sister's husband. The terms *sekululu* and *kukululu* were used by Ngonga as being synonymous, and therefore they have the same connotation. With regard to the term *maikulu* Ngonga seemed clear, but in reply to questions concerning the reason for having the terms *kukululu* and *sekululu*, he was evidently confused. At last he said, "It does not matter, they are the same people." Ngonga never hesitated in giving the reciprocal for all these terms, which is in every instance *onekulu*. These terms may have been correlated with different functions which have now become obsolete.

604 601 The two most important collateral relatives in the parent's generation are the father's sister (*aphai*) and the mother's brother (*manu*). The term for father's sister means "female father." As such her relations to ego are similar to those of a father, consequently it is not considered right to marry her daughters. The mother's brother, on the other hand, is without doubt ego's most important relative. The two are linked by a series of reciprocal duties and obligations. Marriage of a mother's brother's daughter, or a mother's brother's widow, is a correct procedure. The value of the more important reciprocal duties is indicated in the following sections on law and government.

602 171 There was no possibility of devoting more time to the matter of relationship terms, but there is here sufficient to indicate the remarkable persistence of the kinship system in spite of three centuries of contact with the Portuguese and other Europeans. Moreover, the information gleaned by interrogation of Ngonga and his wife gives the main points for comparison with systems of a similar kind that have been given for Ashanti, Uganda, and Rhodesia, by Rattray, Roscoe, and Smith and Dale respectively. These kinship systems are the same both in general principles and in considerable detail.

601 The foregoing notes and tables were studied by Mr. Zachary Taylor of the Univ[illegible]ity of Chicago, who prepared Tables E and F. Mr. F. Eggan offered useful criticisms. The Arabic numerals on these charts refer to the numbers used to designate terms of relationship on the list on page 199. The ego or speaker is Ngonga, my interpreter, whose direct line of relationships is shown in Table E, while Table F indicates the terms used by Ngonga for his wife's relatives. The levels numbered in Roman numerals on Tables E and F indicate the generation stratification as follows:

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

The part played by Portuguese influence in the formation of the culture of the Ovimbundu has previously been recognized, and in conclusion reference should be made to Portuguese and Ovimbundu relationships at the present day. [177]

Native trade and military organization were at one time aided by caravan journeys resulting in the acquisition of slaves and ivory, which were traded for guns and powder. But this caravan trade touching remote parts of central and east Africa is now obsolete. Therefore a breaking down of the economic structure has occurred, but this has to some extent been counteracted by the development of agriculture, which yields large crops of maize and beans.

In the administration of law a new social consciousness has arisen. Portuguese government is of a somewhat direct kind, yet village chiefs and kings have some juridical rights. Appeal to a chief or a king was the old method of securing justice, and at present such appeal may be made by an aggrieved Ocimbundu; but should the appellant be dissatisfied he turns to the Portuguese court.

Portuguese policy aims at making the Ovimbundu a social reflection of the Portuguese themselves. European clothing and manufactures are favored, and Portuguese speech is encouraged, to the detriment of the native Umbundu.

Initiation ceremonies are forbidden, but the bush is wide and protective. To prevent these ceremonies is to take the core from the social system, which has already been weakened by recruiting of labor, so leading to disturbance of family life and village organization. Christian missions have an influence on dress, beliefs, and habits, but these effects appear to be local.

Although this report has been chiefly geographical, ethnological, historical, and analytical, no apology for the method chosen is necessary since this kind of approach is fundamental. I might, in compliance with a modern trend, have made the monograph center in persons, especially Ngonga. By making a close psychological study of his early years, his native environment, and changes in mental attitude arising from contact with Portuguese rule and American missions, an illuminating record of the result of conflicting social forces could be given. [121]

In a sense, Ngonga, who speaks English, Portuguese, and Umbundu fluently, has been the focus of study, and care has been taken to recognize his personality in this report. I realize that in Angola work of an intensive psychological and sociological kind remains to be done by means of a penetrating analysis of many [115]

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
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CHAPTER VIII

MARRIAGE

1. *The Significance of Preferential Marriage*

Informants say that it is permissible to marry a classificatory cross-cousin, are divided as to the permissibility of marriage with a classificatory sister's daughter, and generally disapprove of marriage with other kin categories, or with true kin of these two categories. Indeed, kinsfolk who marry seem usually not to have any traceable common ancestor.[1] Up to recently,[2] a man marrying a kinswoman had to pay an indemnification of, say, 20 escudos to 'cut the blood'. This changed the kin relationship into an affinal one.

It has been previously stated that preferential marriages have an important social role to play in keeping kinsfolk together and multiplying the ties of kinship and affinity. If this is to be proved, it is necessary to show what the people themselves think of preferential marriages, what proportion of the marriages are between kinsfolk, whether this proportion has decreased under modern conditions, and how it relates to the contemporary kinship system.

Several reasons may be given for choosing a cross-cousin bride. The bridewealth is likely to be lower, the girl is more likely to stay and not run away, if one cannot find another girl there will always be a cross-cousin to marry, and, old men point out, one will not be fined if a cross-cousin bride dies.

[1] This statement does not depend simply on my own information. Padre Feltin, superior of the Bimbe mission, who knew of the existence of these marriages told me that very few Umbundu marriages were between kin within the degrees of kinship prohibited (a prohibition removable by a dispensation) by the Catholic Church. Marriage with a first cousin is not infrequent both in Portugal itself and among the white Portuguese in Angola.

[2] About 1949.